U.B.C. Planning Papers

School of Community and Regional Planning

University of British Columbia
Vancouver, British Columbia

92-03119/

ISSN: 0828-2412

Altruism, Planning Theory and Human Settlement Devlopment in the Third World

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DP #28
July 1991

UBC PLANNING PAPERS
Discussion Paper #28

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INTRODUCTION

Planning is an organized intervention in the social, political, economic and spatial systems of society,(ie urban, rural, regional etc.) to promote orderly development for the benefit and well-being of its citizenry (Keeble, 1964). Planners' concern for "public interest" is a recurring theme in planning literature. Such concerns create the impression that planners have warm hearts and altruistic feelings; and that planning is a distributive mechanism (McConnell, 1981). Generally, the planning profession presents itself to the public as an institution which stands for the welfare of all. Hence, planning goals are couched in romantic words like harmony, beauty, efficiency, equity, convenience, balance, mediation etc. The code of ethics of the American Planning Association affirms this image of planning in society:

> (a) A planner primarily serves the public interest and shall accept or continue employment only when the planner can ensure accommodation of the client's or employer's interest with the public interest.
> (b) A planner shall seek to expand choice and opportunity for all persons, recognizing a special responsibility to plan for the needs of disadvantaged group and persons, and shall urge the alteration of policies, institutions and decisions which militate against such objectives (APA cited in McConnell, 1981, p.145).

These romantic images of planning presume that all social groups have fair and equal access to planning. But do planning outcomes vindicate the profession of its own ethical claims? Is planning neutral and accessible to all segments of society? What invisible factors shape planning outcomes? Whose agenda do planners work with? In short, is planning ALTRUISTIC?

RATIONALE AND OUTLINE

In order to put the entire paper in perspective, I begin by stating two basic views of mine concerning Planning theory. First, I believe planning theories emanate from a particular set of values and their outcomes work to the advantage of certain social groups. Second, I don't think there *is* or there *would* be one *superior* or *master* planning theory that is suitable for all communities and political systems. My thought process and arguments in this paper will flow from these two premises. My paper explores the concept of altruism and its relevance to the formulation of planning theories. In keeping with the two stated premises, I am not suggesting altruism as an alternative planning theory. It is not my intention to supplant existing theories with "altruism", but rather to create the fertile environment for their enrichment. Specifically, I aim at developing and injecting the principles of altruism into planning theory and practice as a means to enhance the redistributive potential of the planning machinery.

Within this framework, the paper examines a whole array of "remote controls" that dictate the orientation of planning interventions, determining who profits from the process. This will be done by identifying and analyzing the various planning theories implicit in the design and implementation of human settlement programs in less developed countries (LDCs) to assess whether their outcomes are altruistic. An analysis of selected projects will show how certain theories further the interest of some social groups. It will also bring to light the invisible hands manipulating the planning process

from behind. The outcome of these analyses will provide the logical standpoint to argue for new planning theories which will be more altruistic - servicing and defending the interest of the socially disadvantaged without necessarily limiting the opportunities of other groups.

The first section of the paper unravels the illusion of planning *control* over development matters. The revealed limitations of the planning machinery sets the grounds for the introduction of altruism. The second section develops the tenets of altruism in detail. The third section applies the principle of altruism in evaluating the various strands of planning thought and their inherent biases towards certain social groups in western capitalist countries (WCCs). I feel this is important because any discussion of the performance of planning theory and practice in the developing world would be incomplete without an initial recourse to the birthplace of these theories: where they were first formulated, practised and later exported to LDCs. The fourth section examines planning and development theories implicit in planning interventions in Third World cities. The last section will be in search of theories which will make planning more altruistic in LDCs.

The Illusion of Planning Control

In the West, planners find themselves in a curious situation in which major investment decisions are taken outside the domain of the planning institution. Such decisions are invariably determined by market forces and key players in the marketplace. The institution which dominates this seemingly democratic process is the large business corporations (e.g.,. Ford, GMC, Exxon etc) motivated by self-interest and profit. In such major development decisions, the influence even of politicians become limited. Normally, it is after the taking of these decisions that planning sets in as one of key organs of the state to guide and facilitate the implementation process. A recent study in Canada reveals that even the government sometimes loses control over mega-projects initiated with its funds and blessing (Knight, 1990). In this context, planning simply reacts to major political and economic events shaped by others. This is the central theme in "Critical Readings in Planning Theory" edited by Paris (1982). Pickvance (1972) in particular devotes his paper to the overriding role of market forces in determining urban development outcomes. He contends that if development control powers of planning are essentially powers to "prevent" rather than powers to "initiate", then urban development depends more on the initiators or developers (e.g., industrialists, estate owners etc). He calls it "trend planning" - a situation in which land allocation is more a reflection of market forces than planning intervention. In trend planning, the negative powers of planning are rarely used to intervene in the market trends (Pickvance, 1972). This criticism echoes through the works of Thomas (1979), Boddy (1982), Lambert (1982) Hague (1982) Gardels (1982).

Another example is the growing hegemony of developers in urban development. Pieser (1990) argues:

> ... planners have been moved to the sidelines,...despite the power that planners hold to stop development, it is primarily developers who actually determine what gets built, when it gets built and what it looks like.... It is developers, working within

existing political and economic institutions who plan America--at least its built environment (Pieser, 1990, p.).

My thesis here is that planning is in competition with other forces in controlling urban development. Many remote controls (e.g., market forces, dominant interest groups etc) seem to be manipulating the planning process in an imperceptible way. Planning is therefore oscillating uncomfortably between the roles of an *initiator* or mere *reactor*. Are planning interventions altruistic? To answer these questions, the concept of altruism needs to be defined and explored in relation to planning. I will preface the discussion on altruistic planning theory with a basic definition of *theory*.

Defining Theory

Simply expressed, theory is a structured explanation of reality. It usually involves a set of propositions that help us to describe, explain, or predict reality. Durkheim notes that human behaviour is intelligent and enlightened only to the extent that it is directed by theory (Durkheim cited in McConnell, 1981). In stressing the importance of theory, Leonardo de Vinci warned that "those who practise before they have learned the theory resemble sailors who go to sea without a rudder". (McConnell, 1981). According to Popper (1976) "an objective theory should be arguable and preferably testable". Planning theories, in particular, are complex and eclectic, influenced by politics, economics, sociology, management sciences and other disciplines. The ability to apply theory in planning practice underscores the importance of theory to the planning profession. McConnell (1980) reiterates this point:

> "Theory and practice are interdependent. Practice is structured on theory. Theory is impotent unless used in practice. A theory, if possible, should be tested through experience".

This is a challenge confronting planners.

Defining Altruism

Altruism literally means any behaviour motivated merely by the belief that someone else will benefit or avoid harm by it (Nagel, 1970). Theoretical, altruistic behaviour has four characteristics: (a) should be beneficial to the recipient; (b) should involve some cost in terms of advantage foregone; (c) should be voluntary and uncoerced; (d) may not be synonymous with self-sacrifice. These characteristics point to a behaviour which diminishes or (at least maintains) ones welfare so that another's welfare is increased. It is important to distinguish altruism from the "enlightened egoist" who often behaves with an eye to his or her long term interest (Macdermid, 1985). Margolis (1982) explains the relevance of the concept to resource allocation:

> "What we mean by altruism in the technical sense is that the individuals allocation of resources is influenced not only by the bundle of goods he obtains for himself but also by the effect of his choice on others or his society, qualified only by the conditions that the ACTOR (not necessarily recipients) regards this behaviour benign. An altruistic need NOT have negative or zero value to the actor. What defines altruistic behaviour is that the actor could have done better for himself had he

chosen to ignore the effect of his choice on others" (Margolis,1982).

Nagel (1970) also argues for a general condition which places no restrictions on specific situations but makes the conditions for altruism a requirement of practical reasoning which presumably makes the concept relevant to planning intervention in the allocation of public goods and resources. It is interesting that Nagel and Margolis associate the concept with "resource allocation" and "choices" - pivotal issues in planning. The central theme which run through the theoretical definitions is that *the actor restrains his benefits in order to improve the conditions of others or at least considers the impact of his choices on others.* Herein lies the relevance of altruism to the evolution of planning theory.

Principles of Altruistic Planning Theory

My conception of altruism in planning theory stands on three major building blocks or principles:
(a) *responsiveness* (b) *justice* and (c) *relevant standards*. In other words it requires that:

(a) planning decision should be responsive to the needs and preferences of the people most affected by such decision;
(b) planning decision should be biased towards the greatest benefit of the least advantaged or there should be positive discrimination in favour of the disadvantaged; and,
(c) planning standards should be flexible and relevant to local situations.

Responsive Planning

Basically, responsive planning requires that those going to be most affected by a planning intervention should influence the evolution of decisions leading to the intervention. Also, responsive planning demands that those who evolve theory and those who take action based on it are made accountable to the people most affected by such action.

The requirements of responsive planning obviously indicate that planning is political. McConnell(1981), is therefore right in observing that:

> planning theory should acknowledge the dominance of political theory and political power. Public Planning exists because those in power have willed that it should exist, and it operates in each country in the world today more or less exactly in the form sanctioned by those currently in power. Every planning decision made by a group of elected or appointed people is a reflection of their political stance. As different political parties gain control so the form of planning changes. (McConnell, 1981, p. 104).

This leads to the question of participation. Whether a planning decision will be responsive to the preferences of people depends on the degree of participation allowed in the decision making process. Participation in this sense may include individuals, concerned groups, the media etc., but the

critical group is the very people who are going to be affected by the consequences of the decision. These people should have *every right as well as an unrestrained opportunity* to influence the decision in question. Further, those who participate on behalf of others should be given the mandate to do so. Unless this is done, the planning action is not technically responsive and therefore not altruistic.

Critics of participation argue that people elect representatives whose role is to safeguard their interest. These critics view public participation to be costly in terms of staff time and tend to delay decisions (Fagence, 1977). Others also contend that it is advocated by planning officers and politicians as a way to give credence to their proposals in order to win support - and thus only a token display. Evidence from both rich and poor countries shows that the most disadvantaged in society tend to participate least in public affairs.

Altruistic planning requires the involvement of people at all phases of projects. They should assist planners in defining the problem at stake. It is their perception of the problem which should be the basis of the planning decision and action. This brings in the question of values. Whose values determine the important choices to be made? In keeping with the requirements of responsiveness, the values of the people to be most affected should prevail over that of the planners. This then challenges the myth of "professional planning expertise" claimed by trained planners. Therefore, the traditional notion of "a technical planning team" dominated by professionals should be rejected and broadened to include non-professionals representing the affected group. Experience from many housing projects suggests that more humane and functional neighbourhoods are produced when non-professionals are allowed to contribute to the planning of such projects. A case in point is the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood project in Toronto. One of the principal factors responsible for the success story of this project is the unique manner the planning process permitted the active involvement of citizens and community based organizations in collaborating with professional planners and decision-makers in all phases of the project. Hulchanski summarizes the collective involvement of the three groups of planners in the project:

> St. Lawrence is not a product of a small group of professionals working in their offices and then delivering a final design for implementation. Nor were the decision makers, the elected officials and the senior municipal staff, involved in a passive way merely at the approval stage. As noted earlier, three groups of "planners" were involved. St. Lawrence was planned *by* a broad range of people *for* a broad range of people. A very different process, leading to very different outcomes (Hulchanski, 1990, p. 15).

To ensure responsiveness, three categories of people must participate in the decision making process. These are: (i) people who are going to be most affected by the decision, (ii) those who are going to be indirectly affected, and (iii) those who are likely to be affected in future. I end this part with a return to political reality that it is the political system which invariably determine the degree and scope of responsiveness and hence, altruism in planning.

Justice

The second requirement of altruistic planning theory is justice. It is an issue within the territory of ethics in planning. The principle states that planning should positively discriminate in favour of the most disadvantaged. In addition, any inequality in the distribution of resources should only be allowed when it is to the profit of the least advantaged. McConnell advances two conditions which must associate these goals:

> "First, that any persons liberty be restricted only in the interests of ensuring the freedom for others to enjoy their well-being or to have their opportunities for a 'better' life and environment protected; and, second, that any scarce resources be safeguarded for future generation (McConnell, 1981, p.155).

The relevance of justice to planning is emphasized in the literature because the planning function implicitly deals with distribution of resources. The concept of justice varies between people, between societies, and between countries at different eras in history. It's interpretation is very much influenced by ideological positions. Generally, there is no consensus on what is a "just distribution". So, distributive principles of justice have been variously formulated. Some emphasizes on desert, or merit, in which one receives what he deserves. Others base their conception of distributive justice on either "*rights*" or "*needs*" or "*equality*". Before putting forward my definition of justice which fits my concept of altruism, I will review the contributions some moral philosophers have made in this regard.

Historically, urban planning legislation in the English - speaking world and Western Europe were founded on *utilitarian* ideas. These were moulded by philosophers like Bentham (1748-1832), Chadwick (1800-1900) and Mill (1773 - 1836). When confronted with alternative choices, the utilitarian supports the alternative *which brings the greatest happiness to the greatest number.* That is judging conduct according to its effect on the *balance of general happiness* (Allison, 1975). Planners in the early 19th Century Britain used this philosophy to defend urban redevelopment and highway projects which displaced many poor households on the grounds that the suffering of those who lose homes and places of work is more than compensated for by the benefits that accrue to the majority of people (McConnell, 1981). Time has proven than the planners were wrong in their thinking and approach. Karl Popper proposed an alternative view - "*Negative Utilitarism*"- the principle being *to minimize suffering rather than to maximize happiness.* The concept seems to have a potential superiority over utilitarism but it lacks a concise comparative judgement of suffering.

Among political theorists who have written extensively on "justice", the most influential and widely discussed are Nozick, Rawls and Macpherson. Nozick's position is a conservative definition of justice, conforms to individual liberty morally desirable or allowable by state. Rawls' conception is a theory of "distributive justice" based on "need". It concerns the "just" distribution of primary goods and holdings (Macpherson, 1987). He offers his theory as an alternative to utilitarian position. McConnel fully endorses Rawls' view of justice and recommends it to planners:

> "Although Rawl's did not refer to urban planning, his principles are directly applicable to the illumination of the sorts of value-laden decisions which politicians and planners have to make. Rawls' ethical theory of justice can be borrowed as an ethical theory for planning (McConnell, 1981, p. 174).

What is Rawls' central theme? His concept of justice is two fold:

> First, distribution should give the greatest benefit to the least disadvantaged; and second, inequality of opportunity of those with greater opportunity must enhance the opportunities of those with the lesser opportunity (Rawl cited in McConnell, 1981, p. 176).

Rawls has suffered criticisms from the 'Left' (e.g.,. Wolfe) and from the "Right" (e.g., Hayek). The "Leftists" take him to task for not considering the materialistic facts concerning those who own the means of production and distribution. Those on the Right find his concept to be too much an interference in the market. According to Wolfe, Rawls' failure grew inevitably out of "his uncritical acceptance of the socio-political presuppositions and associated modes of analysis of classical and neoclassical liberal political economy (Wolfe cited in McConnel, 1981 p. 182).

I disagree with Rawls' concept of justice on three counts. First, he assumed consensus in society. This assumption leads him to think that the dominant class will cooperate in transferring resources to the poor. He overlooks the fact that even if the rich would cooperate, it will be a top-down redistributive program carried out at the *will* of the dominant class in furtherance of their enlightened interest (Chenery et. al., 1974). Second, even though "need" is at the heart of his theory of justice, he failed to explain how *real* needs can be ascertained. He therefore alludes to the conventional approach to need determination often based on misinformation orchestrated mainly through the media trap. His concept of need is therefore fraught with ambiguity subject to potential abuse by those who wield power. Third, Rawls places undue emphasis on *distribution* rather than on *production* and thereby skirts the real roots of social inequalities. Popular planning concern for the poor as enshrined in APA codes of ethics is implicitly based on this theory of distributive justice. These criticisms notwithstanding, Rawls concept of justice recognizes the importance of ecological sustainability. He introduces the principle of "*just savings*", arguing that a moral obligation rests on every generation to be prudent in the use of natural resources for the sake of the unborn generation (Rawls, 1971).

I rather find Macpherson's definition of "*economic*" justice more appropriate and consistent with my concept of altruism in planning theory. The concept has its roots in the works of Aristotle and St. Thomas Acquinas. He defines his concept by two stipulations:

> (1) It treats economic relations as having become distinct from social relations in general, and now requiring principles more specific than those of justice in general, (2) it seeks to impose

> on economic relations some ethical principle deduced from a supposed nature of man (Macpherson, 1989, p.2).

The main difference between his conception and that of Rawls is that:

> Rawls starts from the claims of disassociated individuals, not of individuals as members of society, and assumes market-maximising behaviour as their innate or essential attribute, whereas the hallmark of the concept of economic justice has been its assumption that social norms and ethical values should prevail over, or not be eroded by, impersonal market values. (Macpherson, 1987, p.12).

Macpherson divides his concept of economic justice into commutative and distributive justice. The former deals with justice in acts of exchange; requiring that they be at a "just" price. A good example is rent control intended to avert exploitation of tenants by landlords. The latter concerns justice in the distribution of society's resources among its citizens; requiring that at least every household should have the moderate income necessary for a decent life. It is distribution on *merit*, but not what the market awards a person. I endorse Macpherson theory of economic justice because it goes beyond abstract human rights and focuses on economic and material well-being of people: an acceptable standard of living guaranteeing access to decent housing, adequate medical care, education and social services. The UN Charter supports Macpherson's viewpoint. Article 25(1) of the UN Charter on Human Rights states:

> Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for health and well-being ...including food, housing and medical care and necessary social services (UN cited in Hulchanski, 1988).

Economic justice demands state intervention to ameliorate possible distortions of the market. Third World countries use this concept as the basis of their claim of fair terms of trade with the advanced world. I believe planners should stand for this type of justice. Planning would be more altruistic if theory and practice are informed by economic justice.

Standards

The last principle of altruistic planning is flexible and relevant application of standards. Conventional planning wisdom views standards as a "static measure", to which all categories of people should conform. Planning standards, then become "preventive", instead of a" promotive" instrument (Blitzer at el, 1982). It implies either the stipulated standard is satisfied or nothing at all for those who cannot afford to conform to them. The politics of illegal basement suites in Vancouver is an interesting illustration of this unethical and repressive application of planning standards. Vancouver City Hall's ruling on the matter is that homeowners who want to create and rent a basement suite should upgrade them to required standards. These mandatory standards are supposed to minimize the risk of health and accidental hazards (e.g., fire). But the question is: whose standards and who determines an acceptable risk? Generally, planning standards reflect middle-

class values and any universal imposition across the board in urban planning penalizes the poor.

This principle is even more relevant to Third World cities with relatively poor quality of housing and infrastructure by conventional standards. Evidence from both poor and rich countries indicates that the enforcement of standards often succeed in pricing the great majority of prospective home builders and renters out of the market. Even improved squatter housing in Third World cities on account of their new desirability and enhanced market value become vulnerable to upward transfers and eventual displacement of former low income occupants (Johnson Jr., 1987).

According to Turner (1972), minimum specification standards are generally counterproductive under two counts:

> First, when there is a significant gap between the levels of investment they require and effective demand; and second, when that gap cannot be closed with subsidies, whether through lack of financial resources or lack of will on government's part. (Turner, 1972, p. 150)

Turner continues with these questions:

> If government cannot, or will not make up the difference between what housing laws require and what the effective demand can purchase, then why do they create these problems? Why is the commonsense solution of allowing and encouraging people to make the best use of what they have treated as subversive nonsense by the technocratic and bureaucratic institutions? .... Why are these "problems" so universally defined in terms of what people *ought to have* (in the view of the problem staters) instead of in realistic terms of what people *could have*? (Turner, 1972, p.151).

Standards of course have their rightful place in all types and of planning, but it is improper to use them as measures of human value. For example, standards on densities are untenable. Density after all is relative, very mechanical and not very meaningful in planning without reference to the culture and quality of life of a particular social group. Conditions which may be stressful for some people may be wholesome to others. (Asante-Kyereme, 1980). In the context of altruistic planning theory, standards should be *user-relevant* and *evolutionary*. It should not deny the poor the right to make do with whatever resources are available to them now. In short, it should be affordable to the user.

In sum, the synthesis of all the principles and ideas explored indicate that altruistic planning theory has the potential to make planning more "interventive, i.e., planning which combines its promotional and preventive powers to allocate resources in a manner different from what would have come about in a free market situation (Pickvance, 1972). If planning theory could accommodate all these three principles, planning will be accessible to all social groups. These principles are applicable not only in LDCs, but also in rich Western countries because, recent evidence suggest that more and more people are becoming politically and economically marginalized as

evidenced by growing poverty, crime, homelessness and inequalities in cities of North America and Europe (Hulchanski, 1988; Harloe, 1985).

REVIEW OF PLANNING THEORIES

Having elaborated on my concept of altruism, I will use its principles as yardsticks in evaluating the orientation and outcomes of the various planning theories in Western Capitalist Countries (WCCs) in terms of who gains or loses through their practice. The key question is: whose interests do different planning theories serve? I will adopt a historical approach drawing from the classification of Hudson (SITAR) (1979); and Weaver and Hightower (1984). I begin with conventional planning theories. By "conventional", I am referring to the theories Friedmannclassifies as Social Reform and Policy Analysis (Friedman, 1987). It includes the first three theories in Figure 1: synoptic or rational comprehensive, systems approach and incrementalism.

FIG. 1 OUTCOME OF PLANNING THEORIES

PLANNING THEORIST	TYPOLOGY OF THEORY	ROLE OF PLANNER	LOW INCOME	MIDDLE CLASS	RICH
Durkheim Weber Tugwell Faludi Hall	Rational Comprehensive/ Synoptic	Bureau-cratic Techni-cian	N	Y	Y+
Chapin Chadwick Churchman	Systems Approach	Bureau-cratic Techni-cian	N	Y	Y+
Lindblom Etzioni	Incrementalism Mixed-Scanning	Pragma-tic Tech-nician	N	Y	Y
Davidoff Peattie	Advocacy	Advocate	N+	Y	Y
Friedmann Schon Mumford	Transactive/ Social Learning	Communi-Facilitator	Y	Y	Y-
Ward Turner Lynch	Anarchist/ Autonomy	Activist/ Organizer	Y+	Y	Y
Forester Castel Paris	Critical	Change Agent	Y+	Y (theoretical)	Y-
Marx	Marxist/ Radical	Change Agent	Y+	Y+ (theoretical)	Y+

Rational comprehensive Theory

It is "the dominant planning tradition and the point of departure for most planning approaches." (Hudson, 1979). Despite many years of criticism, its unyielding presence in the practice of planning in many countries cannot be taken for granted. Linda Dalton (1986) devotes her seminal paper to its resilience, both in planning practice and education. The model views planning as a rational approach of acting; and decisions are made in a particular way according to technical rules for choice between a number of different strategies. It is goal-oriented. In its quest to be more scientific, it relies heavily on quantitative models like cost-benefit analysis, operations research, forecasting etc. The big names associated with this planning tradition are Faludi, Weber, Dahl, Tugewell and Hall. This model is criticized on the grounds that it sees planning as a "technical, value-free, apolitical activity" that fails to contextualise planning in the socio-economic and political climate in which it operates (Beazley, 1989). Thomas (1979) argues that the central position of politics in society has been replaced by the methodology of planning and that it assumes a "continuous progress towards greater for all untroubled by questions of relative distributional shares" (Thomas 1979). One of its main legacies is the *master plan*. Even allowing for recent changes towards incrementalism, it tends to be "a snapshot of the present and a catalogue of changes which would occur even without the plan" (Hague, 1984). These criticisms not withstanding, my main concern is: whose interest does it serve? Does it satisfy the requirements of altruism? Goodman (1972) is of the view that this planning model is extremely functional in maintaining the existing power under a mask of rationality, efficiency and science". The obvious casualties of this planning model are the poor. Since the theory defends and reinforces the status quo in a capitalist system, the owners of means of production and the middle class are likely to benefit from planning interventions.

In terms of altruism, it is less responsive. In cases where some participation is allowed as a result of public pressure, planners and politicians use it as a ploy to legitimize their own agenda. Very little justice or distribution is seen in planning outcomes due to the heavy reliance on the market. The welfare program which is supposed to assist those who fall through the cracks of the capitalist system has proven to be a weak and partial response. Middle-class standards are applied across the board to the detriment of the poor. In sum, the rational comprehensive planning theory is insensitive to the needs of the disadvantaged and its concern for "public interest" is a fallacy.

The systems approach to planning shares some common characteristics with the synoptic model. While they vary in their particulars, they are similar in their basics. The system theorists (Chadwick (1970); McLoughlin, (1969); Churchman (1968) view planning as a system with complexly inter-related sub-systems. They believe a dynamic understanding of the relationships in the system enhances effective intervention through planning. The outcome of its application is not very different from the rational model.

Incrementalism

The incremental planning Approach is the brain-child of Lindblom, who describes it as "partisan mutual adjustment" (Lindblom, 1959; 1979). Incrementalism has its origins in the works of Propper (1944) who in his rejection of rationality, saw "piecemeal engineering" as the best we could hope for. Lindblom in his article, "The Science of Muddling Through", recognized the limits of rational planning theory. He suggested a practical alternative which:

> "stresses that policy decisions are better understood, better arrived at, in terms of push and tug of established institutions that are adept at getting things done through decentralized bargaining process best suited to a free market and a democratic political economy (Hudson, 1979, p. 389).

Etzioni introduces his concept of "mixed scanning" as an improvement of incrementalism by drawing on the positive attributes of rational comprehensive and incremental models. He basically divides plan-making into fundamental and incremental decisions (Etzioni, 1973a). Incrementalism suffers from some of the criticism levelled against rational comprehensive. An incremental approach to planning does not improve the situation of those on the sidelines as can be observed from figure 1. The three principles of altruism remain unchanged as under rational comprehensive. Through its lack of clearly defined steps, almost any twist or turn in the path may be claimed as part of the plan. Its greatest merit or appeal is that it is more realistic. Unlike the synoptic approach, the planner becomes a pragmatic technician.

Advocacy Planning

Advocacy planning is fashioned on the adversary tradition of the legal profession. The planner assumes the role of an advocate who defends the interest of the weak against that of the strong in community. Davidoff, the chief spokesman of Advocacy Planning recognized the diversity of interests in society and felt that planners:

> should be able to engage in the political process as advocates of the interest both of government and of other such groups, organizations or individuals who are concerned with proposing policies for the future development of the community (Davidoff, 1973a, p. 279).

The advocacy movement injected a new dynamism into planning; making it more sensitive to the unintended side effects of decisions (i.e requirement for environmental, social and financial impact assessments to accompany large scale projects). Instead of planning operating as a neutral, value-free and apolitical professional activity, it became an activity that has profound impact on the distribution of power and resources in society (Beazley, 1989) Hudson sums up its contribution to planning:

> Advocacy planning has both reflected and contributed to a general trend in planning away from neutral objective in

> definition of social problems, in favour of applying more explicit principles of social justice. (Hudson, 1979, p. 390)

Goodman (1972) criticizes advocacy planning as a token reform that creates the impression of allowing the poor to be in control of their own development affairs, while keeping the political and economic structure which oppresses them intact. Kravitz (1968) decries situations where "professional advocacy" often supplanted or weakened the drive for community organization to build effective power. Even though the changes advocacy planning introduced were not far reaching enough, it marked the beginning of radical planning. It demonstrated that planning has more to offer than just managing the development process. Advocacy planning broadens the scope of planning and, therefore, implicitly responds to the requirements of responsiveness, justice and standards in a limited sense. In my judgement, it may achieve some modest improvement in the conditions of the poor (see figure 1).

Transactive Planning and Social Learning

This theory tries to link knowledge to action. Even though Friedmann is the chief proponent of the theory, its origins can be traced to the works of Dewey. It orients planning to a face-to-face interaction with the people affected by decisions. Planning becomes less an activity of surveys and data analysis and more of interpersonal dialogue marked by a process of mutual learning (Hudson, 1979). It also involves an evolution of decentralized planning institutions that enables people to be more in control of the social processes which govern their welfare. Unlike incremental planning, it places more emphasis on personal and organizational inputs in the development process. Plans are evaluated not by what they deliver, but according to the degree they enable the beneficiaries to shape their own future. In this approach, the planner plays a dual role of a communicator and a facilitator.

Since social learning is predicated on "dialogue", those who can dialogue well can manipulate others. Friedmann, the chief proponent of the theory recognizes the inherent difficulties of social learning as a planning approach because, it requires actors to be able to dialogue from relatively equivalent positions of strength (Friedmann, 1972). Thus the ideology and interest of those most capable to dialogue determine the direction of the learning to their advantage. In the West, social learning could more easily be hijacked by capitalist interests.

Theoretical, social learning has altruistic potential. Its strong emphasis on self-determination in the planning process logically leads to some degree of responsiveness and justice. The issue of standards is often reasonably resolved in decentralized plans. According to my theoretical rating in Figure 1, transactive planning theory distributes resources in favour of the socially disadvantaged at the expense of the rich.

Radical Planning

Hudson describes radical planning as an ambiguous tradition with two mainstreams of thinking. It's main proposition is based on the Marxist critique of rational comprehensive theory, that planning "depends on the

separation between doing planning and the social, economic and political milieu within which planning as a specific form of institutional activity takes place ". (Paris, 1984). Radical planners see urban planning in Western countries as an instrument for capitalist exploitation:

> "Planning is necessary to the ruling class in order to facilitate accumulation and maintain social control in the face of class conflict. The modes by which planners assist accumulation include the development of physical infrastructure, land aggregation and development, containment of negative environmental externalities, and maintenance of land values. (Fainstein and Fainstein, 1979, p.148).

Beazley (1989) has developed a new radical planning theory perspective based on an acronym MACE: Marxist, Anarchist, Critical and Emancipatory theories. For the purposes of this paper, I will limit myself to anarchism and critical theories.

Arnarchist Theory

Anarchism is associated with spontaneous activism, directed by an idealistic but pragmatic vision of self-reliance and mutual aid (Hudson, 1979). It shares some common grounds with transactive planning in regard to personal growth, co-operative spirit and freedom from manipulation. The central claims of the theory are still not well understood. It is often misrepresented to mean chaos and disorder. Radical anarchists believe in the concept of a society without government. They are anti-state, believe in individual freedom and a minimal role for society. Turner disagrees with the anti-state sentiments of radical anarchists:

> "Only radical anarchist will argue that modern society is possible without any central controls or government; conservative anarchist like myself accept the necessity of central planning... and in all contexts I believe that central planning and administration has to be limited " (Turner, 1978)

Radical version of anarchism owes much to the works of Woodcock, 1977); Bookchin, 1974); Kropotimn (1974); and Roszak, (1972). Conservative anarchism draws inspiration from Ward (1983); Turner (1976; 1978); Schumacher (1973). The literature shows that conservative anarchism is very relevant to human settlement programs (particularly housing) in both poor and wealthy countries (Ospina, 1987). Like transactive planning, it shifts emphasis from corporate control to personal responsibility in housing delivery processes. The professional role of a planner becomes an activist, enabler or organizer. Anarchism creates autonomy and the end product is altruistic. It is more responsive to all the three requirements of altruism than any of the theories so far discussed. Since it is anchored to grassroot philosophy, the impact of "remote controls" (e.g., market forces) which manipulate the planning process to their advantage is reasonably reduced. The growing involvement of grassroot groups, non-governmental organizations and women's groups in community development programs in both poor and rich countries points to a promising future for anarchist theory.

Critical Theory

Critical theory is an extension of Marxist theory to a more practical realm. It was born out of the Frankfurt School of cultural Marxism in an attempt to analyze the deep structural sources of contemporary problems, at a level above that of basic economic and social relations (Weaver et al., 1985). The critical theorist sees a much more sophisticated approach than a Marxist approach as it focuses far more on the ideological superstructure of the dominant mode of production (Friedmann, 1987). Among the key spokesmen of this theory (de Neufville, 1986; Paris, 1984; Hague, 1984); Forester, in particular, demonstrates its application as to planning practice. He observes:

> "a critical theory of planning can be practical and ethical as well ... pragmatic with vision - to spread political responsibility, engagement and action. Critical planning practice, technically skilled and politically sensitive, is simultaneously an organizing and a democratizing practice (Forester, 1980, p.283).

He sees communication as a key instrument in the entire process. To him communication is political and the manner it is carried out between the various actors in the process has significant impact on the outcome. The theory is criticized by Friedmann because of its emphasis on "critique" and its ambivalent commitment to revolutionary practice. I am not too convinced critical theory has the potential to achieve altruistic results. Rather, it provides an effective tool for holistic analysis, but not for action. I doubt whether critical theory can stand on its own because in my opinion, its strength for practical application is weak.

My review of planning theories in the Western world indicates that conventional planning practice is more of a residual activity controlled by invisible forces (particularly the market) to the advantage of the dominant interest groups. On the other hand, the radical theories which have altruistic potential (e.g.,. anarchism) are viewed with ambivalence in Western society. In sum, the review reveals that "remote controls" have greater freedom to operate under conventional theories unlike radical theories which generally undermine central control and works more in favour of decentralization.

PLANNING THEORIES IN HUMAN SETTLEMENT PROGRAMS IN LDCs

I now turn to planning theories at work in the LDCs. I would particularly identify and analyze the types of theories behind human settlement programs in urban areas. The key question remains: Are the theories informing urban development altruistic?

Planning Interventions

Four major planning interventions common to almost all LDCs are selected for evaluation.

(a) Town Planning Institution

The primary intervention in urban development in the Third World is through the institution of town planning. The key instruments have been regulatory measures such as zoning laws, building regulations and health or sanitation codes.
Physical developments in statutory planning areas are regulated by these by-laws and codes. Developments are supposed to meet certain standards before they are given planning approval. Unfortunately, these standards are based on foreign living standards. By applying these foreign standards in an entirely different urban settings, a large proportion of existing housing stock built through traditional construction methods become "unauthorized" developments and therefore officially illegal. The building codes often disallow the use of indigenous building materials in the construction of new housing. The introduction of discreet zoning practices and strict activity segregation place many obstacles in the way of prospective developers. Critical among these is the separation of where people "live" and where they "make a living".

(b) Demolition and Relocation Projects

During the 1950's and 1960's, most low-income communities located near the business areas of cities became targets of demolition threats. Even though some had existed for centuries, planners and politicians regarded them as a 'nuisance' in the modernization process of the cities. Through the aid of police power, these communities were bulldozed down and the unfortunate victims were shipped to a new location several miles away from the city. Available evidence indicates that these new locations often lacked infrastructural facilities, job opportunities and especially transport services to the city centers. Examples of these projects abound in Africa, Asia and Latin America (Dywer, 1976, Payne, 1979).

(c) Public Housing Schemes

Public housing schemes were the popular response of colonial and post-independence governments to the severe housing problems in Third World cities during the 1950's and 1960's. Some of these projects were specifically intended for low-income households. The houses were contractor-built and relied heavily on imported building materials. These projects failed in almost all countries on two counts: (a) inadequate units were produced to match demand due to high construction standards and limited financial resources, and (b) houses built were inappropriate to the needs of the people to be housed (Ospina, 1987). Experiences from various countries showed that these houses rarely went to intended beneficiaries. People with influence and wealth benefitted instead.

(d) Serviced Sites and Upgrading Projects

These two housing projects resulted from the failure of public housing schemes. They rely on the combination of public and private efforts in shelter development. In both projects, the government provides land and infrastructure while the developers concentrate their resources on the construction of their houses. This new housing paradigm was popularized by John Turner. The kernel of his proposition is that "housing" is not a"

product" but an" activity", and the users should be responsibly involved in its production and maintenance (Turner, 1976). Initially, these projects were viewed with ambivalence, if not active hostility by urban planners and politicians. However, in the face of continued documentation and protracted advocacy for action, official attitudes gradually changed. During the 1970's, the concept evolved from a tentative experimentation to a new orthodoxy enjoying the financial support of international funding agencies.

Evaluation

What theories are implicit in these key housing programs? The first three interventions (town planning, demolition and relocation and public housing schemes) have common theoretical roots. They are essentially informed by conventional planning theories, even though there are some particular differences. On the other hand , serviced sites and upgrading projects are associated with radical planning theory, particularly anarchism.

Two major theories inform the three conventional interventions. These are Modernization and Rational Comprehensive theories. Modernization is one particular theory that shaped all aspects of Third World development in the 1950s and 1960s. Its origins can be traced to the works of Durkheim and Weber who analyzed the transformation of European society from simple to complex systems. The theory was predicated on the belief that "development" meant accelerated industrialization, urbanization and increasing consumption much like what the WCCs had achieved, and to develop, the poor countries have to traverse the same path as the rich countries. Its proponents (Parsons, 1951; Rostow, 1971) viewed "traditional values" as the primary obstacles to development in LDCs. Some sociologists (Hoselitz,1952; McClelland, 1961) argued that once these cultural rigidities are transformed, economic development would logically flourish.

The impact of Modernization on urban planning in particular is profound. It was believed that national development through industrialization would require the emergence of a spatial system of cities whose sizes and design would follow a log-normal distribution as those in WCCs (Berry, 1971; Sanyal, 1988). Town Planning was therefore introduced to provide the technical expertise needed for the Modernization of indigenous cities. It's main task was to prepare master plans which will provide efficient landuse patterns with clearly demarcated areas for each type of human activity connected by a transportation network in the cities. In addition, Modernization is the philosophy undergirding relocation and public housing schemes in Third World cities. Master plans recommended these solutions because they were in harmony with the "modern" urban perspective held by the planners and politicians.

The rational comprehensive theory is unquestionably implicit in these three public interventions in the urban sphere. The technical role of the planner is visible in the interventions. The planner provides information and development alternatives to politicians, projects urban needs, designs its future spatial form and overseas development control. The planning function is essentially apolitical and strictly top-down. Also implicit in these projects, however, in a less visible way, are the theoretical "cousins" of rational comprehensive, namely: systems approach, incrementalism and mixed scanning.

Aside from these two theories, the relocation housing projects in particular, were influenced by utilitarian and neoclassical market theories. Planners and politicians defend their decisions by arguing that community in general would benefit from putting inner city land to its "best and economic" use. A classical example is the demolition of traditional bazaars and housing in old city centers and replacement with luxury hotels and large scale public buildings to house national and international agencies. They often overlook the severe consequences on the relocatees as documented by Payne (1979), and Dywer(1975). Public housing schemes also owe much to Rawls' theory of justice and welfare theories in Western capitalist countries.

The outcomes of these planning interventions indicate that planning works to further the interest of the middle class, the rich and external capital. First, none of the interventions is "responsive" in altruistic sense. Urban development is controlled by planners and politicians. As observed under relocation projects, virtually, no consideration is given to the views of those to be affected, let alone the adverse consequences on them. Second, none of the interventions satisfy the requirements of Macpherson's economic justice. Utilitarian principles and distorted forms of Rawls' justice are inadequate in addressing social inequalities. Worse of all, the universal imposition of outside planning standards is unethical and punitive. As noted, it penalizes the poor and stifles their survival strategies in the urban setting. I conclude that the practice of these major theories in human settlement programs in LDCs is not altruistic.
The theory behind serviced site and upgrading project is anarchism. Turner, who is credited with the popularity of this new paradigm, calls himself a conservative anarchist. The paradigm rests on the conviction that:

> "When dwellers control the major decisions and are free to make their own contributions in their housing, both this process and the environment produced stimulate individual and social well-being. When people have no control over nor responsibility for key decisions in the housing process on the other hand, dwelling environment may instead become a barrier to personal fulfillment and a burden on the economy. (Turner and Fichter, 1972, p.241).

The role of government is to support local action and not to replace or inhibit it. Instead of being passive consumers of goods and services (e.g., housing) delivered by planning, people directly contribute to the shaping and production of their own future (Hudson, 1979).

It is important to mention that the success of anarchist strategies owes much to the erosion of confidence in the "economic growth- trickle down" theory of Lewis (1963) and Rostow (1971) which led to the emergence of some socially appealing theories in the mid 1970s. Even though these theories were not successful in themselves, they created a conducive environment that enabled anarchist strategies to thrive. These theories are: Distributive Justice (Seers, 1969); Basic Needs (Stretton, 1974) Redistribution with Growth (Chenery et.al. 1974). Neo-Populism (Schumacher, 1973; Lipton, 1976) and Neo-Marxism (Amin, 1977; Frank, 1969). Even though these theories were socially appealing they did not make any significant impact on

development in the developing world. Most lost their steam within a decade.
The success stories of many upgrading projects in responding particularly to the housing needs of the poor demonstrates the triumph of anarchism in the developing world. The opportunity it offers people to transform their environments at their affordable standards, bears testimony to its "responsiveness" and "evolutionary" perception of planning standards. It's weakness in regard to economic justice is a political challenge to planners who believe in the theory. It is more altruistic and therefore has a great potential for a more equitable planning in LDCs. I see very little of mainstream radical theories (marxist and critical) in the practice of planning in the Third World. These radical theories have been more appealing to academics and not practising planners.

Remote Controls

With time, the practice of these theories have aided the emergence and operation of certain *"remote controls"* in the sphere of urban planning in LDCs. What are these remote controls and whose interest do they serve? It is important to unearth these "remote controls" manipulating the planning process so that planners can tactfully deal with them in their plans.

The first on this list is ethnic politics and lobbying caused by the countless number of ethnic groups in Third World Countries. Nigeria, for instance, has over 250 ethnic groups and languages. This leads to crippling ethnic politics and rivalry. Due to perpetual ethnic tensions, allocation of national resources is often determined by ethnic politics and lobbying and not by rational consideration of need and efficiency. This breeds nepotism which in turn corrupts and undermines all forms of public allocations. In such a situation, planners put "equity" before "efficiency". In short, planning and development decisions are taken to "satisfice" and not to "optimize" (McConnell, 1981).

Closely related to the above are the bizarre rules governing operation of the state bureaucracies. The educated folks in the public service to a large extent, hold the key to privileges and opportunities in Third World societies. They interpret, enforcement government regulation and also oversee the implementation of public policies and programs. In addition, they are the custodians of vital information. Their position is further strengthened when they work in concert with the rich business class. Dealing with public bureaucracy requires factors other than formal rules; among these are factors like friendship, political connections, old boyism, bribes etc. (Blomkvist, 1989). Even in some cases, the technocrats complicate the bureaucratic procedures in order to exploit the system. In short, it is individuals and groups with "influence" who are able to penetrate the bureaucracy. Invariably, allocations in the public sector, particularly, housing, land and infrastructure are governed by "undeclared" rules understood mainly by a privileged few (Asiama, 1985).

The next issue is the attitudes and perception of planners and public officials. Morah (1990) calls this the "disposition" of officials. In his analysis of the implementation process of the Abuja project in Nigeria, he concluded that it is the disposition of officials (e.g., planners, architects etc.) which

invariably determines the outcome of development decisions or plans in the Third World.

In this particular project, the disposition of the official was that:

> "Abuja is to be a political show-piece, an ideal world-class city free of pity and full of pride for all Nigerians. The city is not just an alternative to the former capital of Lagos, but rather a visionary sort of rescue from the intractable problems of that city (Morah, 1990).

The officials stuck to this lofty but unrealistic, goal for a country with a fragile economy and severe income inequalities. The "disposition" of officials is a product of their academic training and exposure to Western culture and values. As a result, they often mimic foreign images. The impact of the "dispositions of officials" on project outcomes is very significant in LDCs because of high illiteracy and lack of pressure groups to serve as watchdogs for community interest. Another factor is the general intolerance of criticisms in the developing world.

The third "remote control" is international bureaucracy. Most development projects in Third World are formulated and financed from outside by agencies like the World Bank, IMF, the UN etc. Working in concert with the transnational corporations, they dictate the rules of game. Invariably, their theories and strategies work to enhance the interest of international capitalism (Kennedy, 1988; Shaw, 1985). These remote controls define the boundaries of what is "desirable" and what is "possible".

IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE THEORIES

This section will be in search for planning theories that will lead to altruistic goals. An attempt would be made to show how the issues discussed feed into the evolution of future planning theories in LDCs. In keeping with my stated objectives, I don't intend propounding original and full-fledged theories. Rather, in addition to the principles of altruism discussed in detail in the second section, I will suggest some essential "ingredients" that will orient future planning theories towards the path of altruism. In other words, my intention is to erect essential pillars that can prop up altruism as an embracing theory of planning.

One World-Veiw of Planning

First, I will like to question whether we need separate theories for poor and rich countries? In the 20th Century, we live in "one world" increasingly linked through commodity trade, technology transfer and financial relationships and I think emerging planning theories should be sensitive to this new trend. It is important to recognize that both the rich and poor countries are in a "common crisis". (The Brandt Commission, 1981). There are two aspects of this crisis. First, there is a downturn in the global economy. Kraushaar and Gardels foresaw this in the early 1980s and thus commented: "the post World II era has ended and the remainder of the century will mark the transition from growing affluence to an era of limits" (Kraushaar and Gardels, 1982). Even skeptics of the early 1980s now admit that the world economy is drifting into a recession that will be deep and

painful to both rich and poor countries. Second, the world is at the brink of an environmental catastrophe (Brundtland Commission, 1987). At least, the world community recognizes the fact that environmental problems know no national and cultural boundaries. Planning theory should respond to this challenge with "one worldview of planning" that is sensitive to the "common crisis; and also understands the linkages between global and local affairs. In short, planning theory should provide a framework for planners to "think globally" and yet "act locally" (Sanyal, 1988). My position is that we do not need separate theories for poor and rich countries. Rather, theories should be holistic (i.e. global), but their interpretation should be local. This implies planners should learn to indigenise (holistic) theories in order to make them relevant to local situations. That is the essence of "acting locally".

Another issue that requires global as well as local interpretation is the definition of "development". According to the United Nations:

> "The ultimate objective of development must be to bring sustained improvement in the well-being of the individual and bestow benefits on all. If undue privileges, extremes of wealth and social injustice persist, then development fails in the essential purpose. (UN cited in Ghosh, 1984).

This definition is applicable to all countries, rich and poor. Development should be sustainable (resource wise) and also socially just. However, given the limited techno-economic resources available in LDCs, it is important that poor countries re-define their perception of development and refrain from mimicking the Western model of "economic growth" and "worship of technology". Development goals should be realistic. Appropriate and unambiguous definition of development is necessary in every country in order to facilitate the evolution of pragmatic planning theories.

Political System

This leads me to the political system which will make altruistic planning workable. Since politics govern planning and set its functional limits, it is within the political arena that the battle to make planning more altruistic will be won or lost. Third World countries find themselves in a dilemma because contemporary capitalism is at a crossroad and the communist ideology has virtually run aground. I am of the opinion that planning will be altruistic in a political system which promotes *"the socialization of the capitalist means of production"* (Turner, 1978). According to Stretton (1976), this is a socialism that would increase domestic ownership rather public ownership, and would attack inequities and alienation by allocating to every person, as much as available resources and environmental prudence would allow individuals, the fullest control of the resources they can use. Alan Wolfe amplifies this same point:

> "The ultimate objective of repoliticization .. should be to resurrect the notion of democracy, which is far too important an ideal to be sacrificed to capitalism... The problem is not that capitalist societies accumulate, but the way in which they do it. In order for the beneficiaries of accumulation to remain a narrow group, a boundary is established beyond which

> democracy is not allowed to intrude... The time has come to think, not about demolishing accumulation, but about democratizing it. The way to eliminate the contradictions between accumulation and legitimation is to apply the principles of democracy to both give people the same voice in making investment and allocation decisions as they theoretically have in more directly political decisions (Wolfe cited in Forester, 1989).

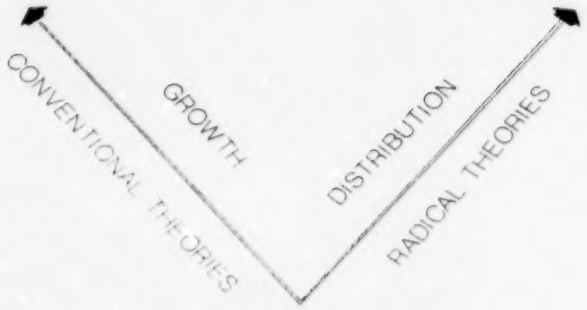
Such a system should encourage "populist" form of democracy in which the people are consulted directly about issues, for example, by the use of referenda and by public participation (Self, 1972). I doubt the effectiveness of representative and pluralist forms of democracies in poor countries. Often, the elected representatives lose touch with the electorate until they require a new mandate. The electorate therefore have little control over their own representatives. A case in point is the imposition of the Goods and Services Tax on Canadians by the Tory government against the wishes of the people. The track record of representative democracy in LDCs is even worse due to high illiteracy, lack of pressure groups and political intolerance. Participatory theories, arising from the populist model of democracy, put people at the center of the decision-making process relating to planning issues affecting their interest directly or indirectly. This will make planning more interventive and thereby capable of dealing with the remote controls undermining allocation of resources in LDCs. The details of an appropriate political system is beyond the scope of this paper. More research is therefore required.

In order to strengthen the altruistic position of planning, I agree with Weber that planning should be more active in the political arena. Weber writes:

> "...planning is inside the political system, and hence, a growing political force in itself. I would wish it to use its growing power towards ensuring that the goods, services and facilities supplied are sufficiently diverse to satisfy even the smallest minority's wants...(Weber cited in McConnell, 1981).

Hague (1984) concurs with the political role of planning. He argues that "pseudo-neutrality of orthodox professionalism produces social ignorance". On the question of equality in society, the goal of altruistic planning is not to achieve perfect equality. That is unrealistic and can be counter-productive in developing countries with scarce resources. It may even lead to "sharing poverty" as socialist experiments in some African countries (e.g., Tanzania) have shown. Engels admitted that inequalities would persist even in communism. Altruistic planning has the potential to raise everyone's real income to a level which would allow a decent living conditions. Planning in poor countries should not narrowly target the low income, thinking that the market will take care of the middle class and the rich. Evidence from these countries indicate that such approaches result in "*leakage of policy benefits*" to the rich. Planners should recognize that in a situation of general scarcity of resources, all may not be well with the middle class. Therefore, planned interventions should address the needs of the various interest groups in tandem.

EMPHASIS OF EXISTING THEORIES



SUGGESTED EMPHASIS OF FUTURE THEORIES

Figure 2

Environmental Concern

Next, I observe a very serious oversight in planning theories that needs to be addressed in any future theories. This concerns the environment. Conventional planning theories give much attention to "growth", whilst radical theories emphasize "distribution". The environment should be the third critical issue at the heart of planning theory. Rawls in his theory of justice emphasized the concept of "just savings" of natural resources for the benefit of future generations. This recognition will enhance an understanding of the dynamic relationships between growth, distribution and the environment. With this three dimensional perception of planning theory, planning will inherently recognize the limits of "economic growth" in development. (see Fig. 2). Within this framework, due attention will be given to the fundamental relationships which should prevail between man and the environment; production and natural resources; and urban and countryside.

Existing Theories

Having provided some inputs which should inform the evolution of new planning theories, I will turn to discuss how existing theories can be made more supportive of altruistic planning practice in LDCs.

The modest achievements of anarchist strategies demonstrated in low income housing and community projects underscore its relevance to urban planning in a situation of scarce public resources. Anarchism responds to personal and social needs, relies upon popular initiatives and provides an alternative to dependency on capitalism and the state. Its basic aim is to shift the initiative in planning from the bureaucracy to the citizen (Ward, 1983). Unlike Marxist theory, anarchism offers the poor, an opportunity to act here and now, rather than to wait for social revolution which is unlikely to happen.

I even believe anarchist theory can be made more useful and relevant to the ideals of altruism in developing countries if the theory is reconstructed by broadening its scope to include Neo-Populist philosophies. Neo-populism advocates a simple self-sustaining development such as that elaborated in Schumacher's "Small is Beautiful" published in 1973. What anarchism and populism have in common is advocacy for "small scale". The rationale is that if the scale of a project is small, local involvement and control is feasible and effective. Instead of a "small scale", I would suggest an "appropriate scale"' to allow for project differences because "small" is not always efficient.

In addition, the positive attributes of other conventional and radical theories can be useful to planning practice in LDCs. For instance, the *dialogue* approach of social learning can be incorporated into community projects. It will enrich the enabling strategies and enhance mutual learning between planners and people through project implementation processes. Incrementalism and mixed-scanning will provide the practical environment and techniques to enable communities to take simple and forward-looking decisions. In addition, monitoring and evaluation would be essential elements of the planning process. The theory is particularly suited to complex projects with long gestation periods and indeterminate impacts.

Advocacy planning also has its place, because, it recognizes the diversity of interests in society. It will encourage planners to associate with Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in assisting socially disadvantaged groups in poor countries. The critical and investigative approaches of critical planning theory can also be of invaluable use to planners in analyzing public policies and their implications for the various social groups. Critical theories will also provide insights into political behaviour and its linkages with income distribution as well as access to social facilities. Even comprehensive planning will be of profound use in integrated plans at urban and regional scales. It may also be appropriate to local communities with shared values and reasonable degree of consensus. Lastly, some development theories which surfaced in the 1970s for Third World development should be re-examined so that their positive elements can be incorporated into planning theories. These are "Basic Needs", "Redistribution with Growth and "Distributive Justice".

So, all the "*old masters*" have their rightful places in altruistic planning practice. This buttresses my initial rejection of a" *master*" theory. In dealing with a subject so complex as human society with so many unknowns and variables, it would be unwise to limit ourselves to just one absolute theory of planning. Therefore, the need to blend planning theories in practice cannot be over-emphasized. Jerome L. Kaufman was right in drawing our attention to this important fact by referring to the actual meaning of SITAR (a five-string lute of Asian origin) used by Hudson in his classification of planning theories. The inference is that:

> "each theory can render a reasonable solo performance in good hands, but by using each theory in conjunction with the others, far fuller possibilities can be created" (Kaufman, 1979).

Planning should be liberated from slavish and dogmatic attachments to particular planning doctrines. Kaufman's counsel is timely and altruistic planning theory provides the framework for that.

In conclusion, planners should note that planning theory and practice is in the doldrums; and public confidence in the profession in waning rapidly. The profession is in crisis of ideas, of irrelevancy of dominant theories and of dysfunctional analytical techniques; and it is now under attack from both the right and left of the ideological spectrum (Offe, 1985; Sanyal, 1988; de Neufville, 1983). Planners should respond by evolving new theories which will enable them to shape the future rather than merely reacting to changing circumstances. I believe altruistic planning theory which emphasizes *responsiveness, economic justice* and *relevant application of standards* holds one of the important keys to a new vision of planning.

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Acknowledgement
The author acknowledges with thanks the comments and suggestions of Drs. Henry Hightower of UBC and J. David Hulchanski of University of Toronto in connection with the preparation of this paper.